



Ancient Roman Topography and Architecture Ian Campbell Arnold Nesselrath Johannes Röll Lynda Fairbairn David Hemsoll

Citation

Connors, Joseph. 2006. "Ancient Roman Topography and Architecture Ian Campbell Arnold Nesselrath Johannes Röll Lynda Fairbairn David Hemsoll." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 65 (1) (March): 126–129. doi:10.2307/25068246.

Published Version

10.2307/25068246

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ever, which forced Mnesikles to curtail his original design and create a new one, Project E, which abandoned the idea of the southeast hall. The reason behind this has long been a source of debate among students of the Propylaia. The Dinsmoors follow the proposition made long ago by Dörpfeld that the priests of Artemis Brauronia objected to the location of the southeast hall because it would infringe on their neighboring sacred precinct. In Dörpfeld's scenario, there was a power struggle between Mnesikles' powerful backer Pericles and the Brauronia priesthood, one that Pericles ultimately lost.

Mnesikles' Project E also exhibited changes to the southwest wing of the Propylaia. In order to accommodate the renovations to the old Temple of Athena Nike (apparently planned as early as the 440s but not finished until the 420s), Mnesikles redesigned the southwest wing to extend only about half of its original length, and removed the wing's west wall so as to give access to the Athena Nike precinct. The Doric façade of the truncated wing remained unchanged, however, so that it would harmonize with the opposing northwest wing.

The Dinsmoors suggest that in the next stage of construction, Project F, Mnesikles decided to continue with the construction of the northeast hall and northwest wing as planned in Projects C and D, even though the appearances of their opposite parts, the southeast hall and southwest wing, had changed dramatically. Mnesikles apparently deferred the work on the northeast hall until the central building and northwest wing could be completed, but never gave up hope of finishing both the eastern halls. During the final building phase, Project G, the south wall of the central building received a hole for a ridge beam, indicating that plans were afoot to finish the southeast hall, despite objections from the Brauronia priesthood. Nevertheless, due to the war that broke out between Athens and Sparta, neither hall ever saw construction, and many details of the Propylaia remain unfinished. Work on

the building had come to a halt, never to be resumed.

Whereas *The Propylaia to the Athenian Akropolis* is a study intended for specialists in Greek architecture, Jeffrey Hurwit's *The Acropolis in the Age of Pericles* is designed for the general reader or college student. The book is an abridged and slightly revised edition of the author's 1999 work, *The Athenian Acropolis: History, Mythology and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present*. In this newer work, Hurwit focuses on the Acropolis in the fifth century B.C.E., deftly presenting in eight short chapters what are arguably the most written-about monuments from antiquity. While Hurwit's summaries are invaluable to the general reader, he occasionally presents alternative interpretations that will intrigue the specialist. For example, in chapter one, in a discussion of the important myths surrounding the Acropolis and its chief deity, Athena, Hurwit suggests that the Panathenaic Festival, traditionally viewed as a celebration of the birth of Athena, was, in fact, a celebration of the Olympian gods' defeat over the menacing giants. Similarly, in chapter four, which covers the Parthenon, he proposes that the temple functioned principally as a treasury, votive, and symbol of victory, not as a sacred center for cult. As for the Propylaia, Hurwit argues in chapter five that the abandonment of the southeast hall was due to financial constraints and had nothing to do with the priesthood of Artemis Brauronia. A strength of this book is that Hurwit presents his alternative interpretations alongside the traditional readings, providing arguments for both, thus allowing the reader to decide which explanation makes more sense.

Another strong point of the book is that it has collected the most up-to-date information concerning the Acropolis, in some cases information too recent to have been included in his 1999 book. Of particular interest is new and surprising evidence about the Parthenon, brought to light by the recent work of Manolis Korres, currently conducting restoration work on the building. Hurwit relates

that the northern colonnade of the temple was constructed around a sixth-century-B.C.E. shrine and its altar (perhaps devoted to Athena Ergane). The east wall of the Parthenon's cella possessed windows to better light the statue of Athena Parthenos and the upper walls of the pronaos contained a sculpted frieze. These new discoveries, as well the standard monuments, are well illustrated by black-and-white photographs, plans, and drawings as well as a CD-Rom of color photographs.

Reading *The Propylaia to the Athenian Akropolis* and *The Acropolis in the Age of Pericles*, one is struck by the exciting notion that there is still much to learn about Athens in the fifth century B.C.E., and that two such well-known buildings, the Propylaia and the Parthenon, still have the ability to surprise and spark debate.

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Ian Campbell, with contributions by Arnold Nesselrath, Johannes Röll, Lynda Fairbairn, and David Hemsoll
Ancient Roman Topography and Architecture

The Paper Museum of Cassiano Dal Pozzo, Series A, Part IX

London and Turnhout: The Royal Collection in association with Harvey Miller Publishers, 2004, 3 vols., 1,082 pp., 191 color and 539 b/w illus. € 286, ISBN 1-872501-12-5

Cassiano Dal Pozzo's library and "paper museum" survives, mostly in England, but its contents are scattered across a number of libraries and museums. When Cassiano died in 1657, the collection remained in his house behind S. Andrea della Valle in Rome, where it was rearranged and augmented for thirty-two more years by his equally inquisitive brother, Carlo Antonio Dal Pozzo. It passed to Carlo Antonio's son and grandson, but was sold in 1703 to Pope Clement XI, who resold it in 1714 to his nephew Cardinal Alessandro Albani, who rearranged it again and amalgamated it into his own large library at the

Quattro Fontane. Most of the Albani library was bought in 1762 by George III, shipped to London the following year, and incorporated into the royal library at Buckingham House. The king used James Adam as his agent in Rome, and six important volumes, including three containing Montano drawings and the so-called Codex Coner, were removed from the main body of the collection and stayed with the Adam brothers, in whose hands they remained until John Soane acquired them in 1818.

In the meantime, George III's librarian, Richard Dalton, rebound the volumes in the Royal Library and remounted the drawings, some making their way to the British Museum. Although George III had acquired many of Cassiano's natural history drawings from the Albani library, Albani had not sold them all, and eventually other natural history volumes went from Rome to the Institut de France and the Royal Botanic Library at Kew. When the Royal Library was given to the nation in 1823, eleven volumes containing the Dal Pozzo prints were separated from the drawings and went to the British Museum, whence they passed to the new British Library. The Dal Pozzo inheritance received one final blow in the interwar period, when many volumes, especially of natural history, were unofficially deaccessioned from Windsor, eventually making their way to the antique market in sales lasting into the 1990s. Short of total dispersal, a more complex and bewildering history could hardly be imagined for any great library.

It is the goal of The Paper Museum of Cassiano Dal Pozzo to bring the collection back together in its entirety in thirty-five volumes. Series A, edited by Amanda Claridge, will ultimately result in ten titles (eighteen volumes in all) on antiquities: mosaics and wall paintings, early Christian and medieval antiquities, sarcophagi, statues, small antiquities, illuminated manuscripts, inscriptions, tombs, ancient Roman topography and architecture (the book under review), and Renaissance architecture. Series B will comprise nine titles (seventeen vol-

umes) on natural history. But for the architectural historian it is the present book (IX in series A) on ancient architecture and the forthcoming one (A.X) on Renaissance architecture that will be of paramount importance.

When it came to the study of the natural world, Cassiano commissioned artists to make hundreds of drawings—many of exquisite beauty—of birds, mammals, fish, flowers, citrus fruit, mushrooms, and fossils. Some idea of their range can be gained from the exhibitions held in 1993 at the British Museum and in 1997 at the National Gallery of Scotland, from three international conferences on Cassiano, and from the short-lived journal *Quaderni Puteani*. But when it came to ancient architecture, Cassiano commissioned rather little and was more dependent on the purchase of older drawings. In this he is quite different from his role model, Pirro Ligorio, who did his own drawings, in superhuman abundance, enough to fill the ten volumes now in Naples, thirty volumes in Turin, plus a volume each in Paris and Oxford, not to mention the chest of 5,000 drawings from his inheritance sold to a Frenchman in 1632. Cassiano, in contrast, bought more drawings than he commissioned, at least where ancient architecture was concerned. He also relied on an extensive collection of prints and illustrated books for his vision of the antique.

The three volumes of drawings by Giovanni Battista Montano, the Milanese woodworker who emigrated to Rome in the late 1560s and became the great explorer of the ruins of the Campagna, were at the heart of Cassiano's collection, amounting to 40 percent of the corpus of drawings after the antique. It was around this massive core that he organized his other purchases. But even if Cassiano had three volumes or 333 Montano drawings, there were many more on the market: 200 Montano sheets ended up in Paris; 150 in the collection of the late Baroque architect Domenico Martinelli, now in Milan; and a further set in Madrid. Since Cassiano's Montano volumes were taken by the

Adam brothers and wound up in Sir John Soane's Museum, they are the focus of a separate catalogue, two extremely erudite and beautiful volumes by Lynda Fairbairn that appeared in 1998. But twenty-one drawings strayed from the Soane volumes into other parts of the Cassiano library, and thus form part of the present catalogue, in a section also authored by Fairbairn. Her cool eye turned on the hyperimaginative Montano peels off the layers of influence of Sebastiano Serlio, Baldassare Peruzzi, and Pirro Ligorio from the quotient of personal observation that may lay at the core of many of his drawings.

Cassiano wrote in 1654: "This Museum of Paper, as I will call it, is divided into many volumes, in which I had thought to emulate the labour of Pirro Ligorio" (54, volume under review). He tried three times to obtain permission to copy the Ligorio volumes in Turin, but with only limited success. So it is interesting to see that he managed to acquire fourteen sheets by Ligorio plus some copies. Limited as this was, it threw light on some major monuments, such as the Temple of Hercules Victor (the "Villa of Maecenas") in Tivoli; the basilica near Aurelian's Temple of the Sun in Rome, which was also studied by Andrea Palladio; and the Temple of the Dioscuri in Naples. In a beautiful drawing of a triumphal column carved with many figures in high relief (cat. no. 70), we see the Ligorio—imaginative and abundant—that Piranesi found so admirable.

Among the other drawings that Dal Pozzo acquired were two by Francesco di Giorgio and four copied after him, as well as eighteen drawings by Antonio Labacco, some with decorative figures added by Francesco Salviati, done in preparation for Labacco's *Libro* of 1552. Campbell has an impressive command of Roman archeology and antiquarian studies, which tells especially in the learned discussions of the Basilica Aemilia and the temples at the Forum Holitorium. Cassiano found twenty-eight sheets by Giovanni Antonio Dosio from the 1560s, which adopt the Netherlandish

fashion of showing the monuments in their contemporary context. Most interesting of all are the twenty-five sheets by an "anonymous Portuguese draughtsman," who drew the monuments of the Campagna with great accuracy, especially the small brick "temple-tombs" that would have such a potent influence on the nascent Baroque.

In addition to this mass of purchased drawings, Cassiano sent out copyists to record what he could not buy. There is a set of copies after the great *Libro* of Giuliano da Sangallo, now in the Barberini section of the Vatican Library but during Cassiano's lifetime in the collection of the Sacchetti family. Finally, Cassiano vacuumed up drawings from some surprising sources. We find the Jesuit Orazio Grassi drawing the arches of the Aqua Vergine, discovered when he laid the foundations for S. Ignazio in the late 1620s. And the monk Giovanni Ambrogio Mazenta, architect and mathematician, and general of the Barnabite order (we might call him the Guarini of the Barnabites), found time to do a reconstruction of Pliny's Laurentine Villa for Cardinal Francesco Barberini, with a copy sent to Cassiano.

Cassiano might be seen (and probably was seen by the executives of Olivetti, the original sponsor of the project) as the first in a long line of specialists in information retrieval. Campbell sees him instead as the end of a long tradition. His essay on the development of architectural drawing (19–36) is a model of concision. It ranges from Filippo Brunelleschi through Ciriaco of Ancona, Leon Battista Alberti, Francesco di Giorgio, Fra Giocondo, Giuliano da Sangallo, the Codex Coner, and Raphael to Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and his productive family. As the sixteenth century advances, one comes upon enterprises rather like Cassiano's in the making. In a famous letter of 1542, Claudio Tolomei, a member of the Vitruvian Academy formed around Cardinal Marcello Cervini (later Pope Marcellus II), projected a collection of all antiquity in twenty volumes: an architectural vocabulary in three languages,

glossaries, an edition of Vitruvius in more refined Latin and a translation into Tuscan, a comparison of Vitruvius with the ruins, a collection of literary sources for the ancient monuments, reconstructions of the major monuments in plan and elevation, a book of relief sculpture, a collection of Roman religious, military, agricultural, and domestic instruments, a sylloge of inscriptions, and books on paintings, coins, machines, and aqueducts. "Not only the general subject matter but also the thematic arrangement of the codex corresponds to that outlined in Tolomei's letter," as Campbell perceptively remarks (25).

By the second half of the sixteenth century we have the generation for whom the goal was publication: Serlio, Labacco, Ligorio, Palladio, and Dosio. Guglielmo Della Porta wanted to clarify the terms of Vitruvius and compare them with those used by Tuscan builders. Finally we come to Montano, Cassiano's starting point, who borrowed from many of these sources, redrawing them with plan and elevation. Montano is seen as the most immediate predecessor to Cassiano and the last of Italian architects who were interested in drawing antiquity.

The collecting of architectural drawings is also studied as a phenomenon in its own right. Peruzzi collected Francesco di Giorgio and was collected in turn by Ligorio. Antonio da Sangallo the Younger is the great collector of Donato Bramante and drawings from the fabbrica of St. Peter's, and Giorgio Vasari collected and framed many architectural drawings. Samuel Quicchelberg, the curator of Albrecht V of Bavaria, published an ideal scheme for a collection whose range is the same as Dal Pozzo's.

How useful was Cassiano's collection for architecture, or rather, for architects? Campbell lets us know where it was strong and where it was weak. It thoroughly covered the temples, obelisks, triumphal arches, and especially the tombs of Rome, tombs being by far the largest single building type represented. But the representation of theaters, amphitheaters, and circuses was

poor, as was that of villas and gardens. It was not a good place to study the Palatine palace, the Horti Sallustiani, the large villas around Rome, or domestic baths such as those in Hadrian's Villa. It was somewhat better for the large public baths. The omissions are probably best explained by the fact that such buildings were illustrated in prints, which Cassiano collected intensively, and by the fact that the Paper Museum was never completed.

Did practicing architects ever consult the Paper Museum? Two unlikely bedfellows did—Nicolas Poussin and Francesco Borromini—who took from it opposite lessons. Poussin treasured conventional antiquity, as he demonstrates in the backgrounds of his paintings and in his collaboration with the architectural painter Jean Lemaire. Borromini treasured the unconventional antiquity he found in Montano, an antiquity that delighted in abundant floral decoration, that prized fine brickwork of the "temple-tombs" in the Campagna, that relished the curve and the reverse curve. Cassiano loved Poussin and detested the type of rule-bending architecture for which Borromini stood. But once he let antiquity speak for itself, through the abundant documentation that he gathered, its lessons spoke more clearly than his preferences.

It is still possible for an ambitious library to build up the core of a reference collection on the recovery of antique architecture in the Renaissance with a few, if expensive, acquisitions, beginning with the present volumes and those to come on Renaissance and later architecture (*Paper Museum*, A.X). Equally beautiful and important is the catalogue by Lynda Fairbairn, *Italian Renaissance Drawings from the Collection of Sir John Soane's Museum* (London, 1998). If one comes across a copy of Christian Hülsen, *Il libro di Giuliano da Sangallo codice Vaticano barberiniano latino 4424* (1910, facs. repr. Rome, 1984) it should be acquired immediately, for reasons outlined in a splendid review by Arnold Nesselrath in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 52 (1989), 281–92. The next step would be to

browse the Web site of Edizioni Quasar in Rome for the reprint, in six volumes, of Rodolfo Lanciani's *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità* (Rome, 1989–2002), and for the monumental reference work edited by Eva Margareta Steinby, *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (Rome, 1993–99), published in six volumes. Ingrid Rowland's beautiful facsimile, *Vitruvius Ten Books on Architecture: The Corsini Incunabulum with the Annotations and Autograph Drawings of Giovanni Battista Sangallo*, was published in 2003 in Rome; and Ingo Herklotz's *Cassiano Dal Pozzo und die Archäologie des 17. Jahrhunderts* was published in 1999 in Munich. Both will give the reader plenty to digest while waiting for the third volume of Christoph Frommel and Nicholas Adams, *The Architectural Drawings of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and His Circle* (New York and Cambridge, Mass.), which will cover Sangallo's drawings after the antique.

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Medieval Venice

Juergen Schulz

The New Palaces of Medieval Venice

University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004, 368 pp., 219 b/w illus. \$85, ISBN 0-271-02351-1

Many years ago, Juergen Schulz took it upon himself to tackle one of the most elusive and challenging fields of Venetian architectural history—the origins and early development of the *casa da stazio* of the merchant nobility. This masterly book is effectively the culmination of that enterprise. Its structure is unusual, in that it consists mostly of five meticulously researched case studies of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Venetian palaces, each with a fascinating story to tell. These

“appendices” are, for the serious historian, the real heart of the publication. They are preceded by the main text itself, an 80-page essay on the origins and early development of the palazzo in this period. The case studies deal with, respectively, the so-called Ca’ del Papa (the former residence of the patriarchs of Grado), the elusive Ca’ Barozzi, the much better-known Fondaco dei Turchi, and the “twin palaces” on the Riva del Carbon—Ca’ Loredan and Ca’ Farsetti. The difficulty in piecing together the early history of these buildings can be gauged by the fact that the first two have almost totally disappeared, and the other three have been altered many times over the eight centuries since they were built.

The Ca’ del Papa is perhaps the most enigmatic of them all; the only detailed visual record is that of the usually reliable Jacopo de’Barbari, but even he distorted the image to fit the available space. Nevertheless, Schulz has not only published essential documentary evidence of the long, sad decline of this once imposing residence, which stretched for 50 meters along the Riva del Vin, but has also reconstructed its principal façade. The house lost its *raison d’être* in 1451, when the “rump” patriarchate of Grado was amalgamated into the new patriarchate of Venice, and the seat transferred to San Pietro in Castello. The former patriarchs’ palace (and sometime lodging of the pope) became a seedy warren of crumbling tenancies, until one half was rebuilt in 1584, the other half in 1653, and the first half rebuilt again in 1906 by Giovanni Sardi. Today, scraps of arches are all that survive. The story of Ca’ Barozzi on the Grand Canal at San Moisè, prominently illustrated by de’Barbari, is a little different. Schulz tells an intriguing saga of the Barozzi clan (two of whom were executed for their part in the Querini-Tiepolo plot), a splendid example of conspiracy and “dodgy dealings” in the world of Venetian inheritances and real estate. What remains of Palazzo Barozzi now lies well and truly buried within Palazzo Treves dei Bonfili.

The history of the Fondaco dei Turchi is much better known, largely

due to research by Schulz himself, including his essay on the nineteenth-century restorations in *Annali di Architettura* 7 (1995). The documents published in the book under review offer invaluable records of what should really be called Ca’ Pesaro or Ca’ d’Este, since for much of its recorded history the house was owned by the Pesaro and leased to the Este, lords of Ferrara. It only became the “Fondaco dei Turchi” after 1621, and remained in Pesaro ownership until the extinction of the line in 1830. The summary demolition of two-thirds of the fabric by a local speculative builder in 1841 was merely one of the last of the “deaths” this once-elegant palazzo has had to endure.

The stories of Ca’ Loredan and Ca’ Farsetti have something in common with the Fondaco in that much of the rear structures of the three has been dramatically altered over time, whereas their famous façades, although restored, offer some indication of their original appearance.

Ca’ Farsetti has a more securely documented early history than Ca’ Loredan. Schulz confirms the long-held view that Ca’ Farsetti was built by the Dandolo, ca. 1200–1209. By the quattrocento it was owned by the Contarini and in 1670 was bought by the Farsetti, a citizen family who bought their Venetian nobility (like many others) during the Turkish wars. They made extensive changes to the already altered house, including a major extension toward the rear (containing a second *portego*) and a grand central staircase. Much of the rich Baroque interior survives today. In 1826, the palazzo was acquired by the municipality; in the 1870s, the façade was restored and “medievalized” again, and in 1892 there was further expansion at the rear. It takes Schulz’s great skill to unpick these many changes over eight centuries.

Ca’ Loredan has a less complex history, although it does not appear possible to trace its original builder. It was owned by the Zane in the early trecento, and in 1364 was bought by Federico Corner, a member of one of the wealthiest and